The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten.

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/haî, v.).

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk.

Meat soup, suro-b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu-bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung.

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai-ǂadai-b) or cooled (°/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha-reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na-rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/ikǂabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods).

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ãdaib. °ãndaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama·, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they feed off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

1. The Wild Animals*

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*This will only be a list, and when it seems valuable in the interest of lucidity for those not familiar with local conditions, there will be a brief description of the huntable animals of Great Namaland [Footnote goes on to p. 269] according to their most obvious characteristics. Closer observations about their way of life and a completion of the list from the zoological standpoint will be given later.

The wild animals which the Hottentot still hunts represent only a skimpy remnant of the wealth of his former hunting grounds. All the wild animals which can be hunted are called am/nēn, [269] ǂa-manin, ᵓǂaberan or ǂamaren. The large wild animals of the Hottentot hunter are, except for the ostrich and the zebra, only of historical interest. Foremost stands:

1. The elephant, Elephas africanus (Blumenb.) (Cape D. Oliphant[1]) called ǂkxoa-b.

Although for two generations or longer no Hottentot has seen an elephant in his homeland, I still found a few recollections from the time when it was hunted. It is supposed to have been a major rule that none of the hunters should have intercourse with his wife the night before a hunt; otherwise the elephant would point at him with his trunk and throw earth at him. The guilty one could no longer take part in the hunt then.

The position of the teats in front on the breast and the shape of the vulva awoke the easily excited sensuality of the Hottentots. One Hottentot told me the following hunting story: Two brothers-in-law went out and after a successful hunt the older one warned the younger one not to approach the downed elephant from behind, but he paid no attention to the warning and was punished by an uncontrollable erection which made him walk lame (ᵓ/ī) and still makes him the laughing stock of all hearers of the joke. The wording of the story was: kxoē /uiguiǂa ǂa ī gye gye !auhe ǂkxoana, okǂa gye ǂk oasa gye !gam. ob gye gaiba go sī tsi: "tī kxaos /kxāb ai ī," ti go mī. ǂabeb gye ǂkxama go ī tsī ǂkxoas di /oasa mũ tsī ǂgũi tsī /ī go /kxī. ob gye gaiba: "tareē dī tsi?" ob gye: "m'm, ǂũ tomaī" ti go mī.

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[1] [i.e., Cape Dutch or Boer. – Analyst]

and did not desist until the last quagga had vanished from the earth. 136
That was achieved about 1880.

4. The zebra, !go·reb, is known to the Hottentots in two forms, which we differentiate as Equus Zebra L. (= E. montanus Burch (Cape D. wildepaard) and E. burchelli Gray (Cape D. bonta quagga). The first zebra, which the Hottentot himself designates as the smaller kind living in the mountains, he calls *//kx̃ao·! goreb, probably from the spurge (cf. p. 150), the juice of which he uses to poison the animals [224] at their watering places. Another name for E. zebra is */ho·/ !goreb, i.e. "the one marked black and white." This designation, which would be suitable for all zebras, is only understandable as a diagnostic term taken from its antithesis: [271] the dark striping of E. burchelli, that inhabits the broad plains, is scantier than that on the other kind, the white basic color of the body shines out and is broader and therefore they call this kind *!u·/ri!goreb or the "white zebra."

The remote mountain country in the west of the lower course of the Fish River and the eastern Namib plains in the northern border country are the last refuges of small zebra herds in Great Namaland.

At the end of the 80's the Equus zebra could still be found in the mountainous parts of the eastern Cape colony. In the mountains around Naroekaspoort (74) (70 miles from Willomore) a zebra herd,

74. Ibid.

except for one male zebra, was killed by the Boers and the natives. The lonely animal attached itself to the horses of a farmer that were pastured in the open, followed them on all their wanderings, followed them even into the kraal of the farm. There the zebra starved to death, since it refused to eat even the food that was brought to him from his former pasture grounds. [Picture. Equus burchelli Gray.]

5. The hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L., (Cape D. Zeekoe), called !kx̃aos or *!kx̃ums, formerly numerous in all the rivers on the Cape, exists today in only a few examples in the lower course of the Orange.

6. The giraffe, Giraffa capensis (Lesson), (Cape D. kameel,) called !na/i·b, as older travel reports all relate, could still be found at the turn of the [272] nineteenth century in Great Namaland but is now wiped out there and lives only in folk tales. [Picture. Young male giraffe.]

7. The ostrich, Struthio australis L., (Cape D. vool struis), called /ami·b (Illustration with the folk tales) can be met in all parts of Great

Namaland, and in greatest numbers in the transitional zone of the Namib to the hinterland. I also saw them south of the Orange in the Little Bushman land. 136

Because of its incomparable sharp sightedness the Hottentot also calls it *//ga'ba mũ's (from *//ga'ba·=to see far in the distance, mũ's = eye). The native hunter distinguishes among the females a certain hen that appears alone in a flock, is easier to drive off and has a tendency to grow fat. He gives her the name *sā·bes, distinguishing it from the other female ostriches which he calls */hai·! noro·s, "the one with the fallow back of the head." /naba·b (3. st.) is the young ostrich. 136 224

Next to the ostrich the bustards, Eupodotis species, are the stateliest wild birds of Namaland. 136

8. The lion, Felis leo L., (Cape D. leeuw), called ǂa·mi, has also disappeared today from the Namib and the bordering territories, its last refuge, and is only found in the northeast, in the transitional zone between Great Namaland and Kalahari.

9. The kudu, Strepsiceros capensis (A. Smith), called ǂaib begins the series of antelopes. Large, strong and of a wonderful symmetry, the kudu is rightly considered [273] the noblest horned wild animal of the South African savanna, just as in our woods the deer is, which the kudu also resembles in size. It is also like our deer in that only the male has antlers. There is no more beautiful trophy that the horns of an old kudu bull with their bold spirals.

The color of the kudu is a plain yellow grey. About seven narrow whitish stripes cross the back and hind legs. From the root of the tail to the back of the head a stripe of somewhat longer hair grows along the middle of the back. It is too short to be called a mane. [Picture. Felis leo L.] But a stately beard begins between the lower jaws of the bull, descends down a middle line, decorating the front surface of the darker grey neck and continues sideways above the shoulders as a little neck-mane.

The kudu loves dense undergrowth and is restricted to the interior of Great Namaland in the mountainous parts. It becomes frightened when it observes an enemy. The nearest relative of this marvelous antelope,

[274] 10. the eland, Taurotragus oryx (Pall.), called !kǂa/ns is quite the opposite in its outward appearance. The short strong legs with the clumsy hoofs and the awkward burden of the bulky, extended body reveal nothing of the antelope. The long dark mane on the

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23. The skunk, Zorilla striata (shaw.) (Cape D. stink muishond), a black and white striped Mustelidae is called /ga/mirob, the star, by the Hottentots, following the superstition that the little animal lives in the stars and falls to earth as a shooting star.

Of the martin family there are two representatives to be named that are quite unlike each other in their manner of living. First:

24. The honey badger, Mellivora ratel (Sparrm.), called */ha/rebab or */ha/retsub, a relative of our badger, is outfitted with such thick skin than he can plunder bees' nests unpunished. The white on its back contrasts sharply with the deep brownish-black of the rest of the body. The white cap which covers the skull and which extends to the side to within a finger's breadth of the eye and somewhat further down in the middle of the forehead, continues broadly over the neck and divides into two branches on the shoulders. These extend along the sides, diverging toward the rear and join together again at the root of the tail. In the middle of the back they turn into a variegated shield that appears generally grey.

25. A fish otter, probably belonging to Lutra capensis schinz, is dependent on the larger pools of the Great Fish River. The Hottentots call them !ho/mi, the same name they give the coastal eared seal.

Of the middle-sized predatory animals, the dog family provides the hunter with the most numerous and best pelts. In the first rank is [283] 26. the "caparism" jackal. (See the illustration in the folk tales), Canis mesomelas Schrbr., (Cape D. fox), called /gĩ·rib, also frequently called /gai·rab by old Hottentots, derived from */gai = disorderly singing. The howling jackals circle around a fallen animal or a campground where they smell meat.*

[224 281]

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* I cannot agree with the derivation of the word from /gĩb = odor of fat and from that the designation of the jackal as "the runner after the smell of fat," (57) since the desig-

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

nation for odor of fat is not /gĩb but /gĩ/b. */gĩ·/ri - to roast a piece of fat on a stick over the flame.

The light golden-brown color of its pelt has also given it the name gold jackal. A broad black stripe mixed with white covers its back like a caparison from the neck to the root of the tail and the upper parts of the flanks. The last two thirds of the long thin brush are black; the throat and a line along the upper lip have a whitish color. 136

27. One of the prettiest of the South African jackals is the silver jackal, Vulpes chama (A. Smith), called !kxama·b. The round brush, as soft as wool, is larger than the thin body and is just about as long. The body itself is no larger than that of a Cape hare. The back and the nape of the neck, the outside of the upper legs and the root of the tail are silver grey mixed with a fine dark color. The rest of the body is yellow-brown, shaded variously. The broad end of the brush is black and there are black specks on both sides of the first third.

A belief of the hunters is that whoever says the name of the silver jackal while hunting will not catch one. Whoever is forced to speak of it, therefore calls it *≠gai·/hetoma·b, i.e. the one (-b) who is not (toma) called (gai/) (-he a pass. ending). [224]

28. Like the silver jackal, the Otocyon megalotis (Desmar) (Cape D. A-jackal), called //ã/b, is a small, harmless fellow that never attacks a herd. Its greyish-brown pelt is highly prized. The bushy tail is long, but thin, its tip colored a blackish-brown.

29. In contrast to all its South African relations the Cape hunting dog, Lycaon pictus (Temm.), is dangerous in the highest degree. In packs he chases the fleetest game, attacks herds and even men.

The Cape hunting dog does not have the fine pointed nose of the jackal, nor the broad skull of the hyena. One would be more likely to take its head [284] for that of our household dog. Its pelt is checked a blackish-brown, white and a light brownish-yellow. On its neck and behind its shoulders the yellow flows together to form several rather large spots. A dark stripe usually extends along a middle line between the eyebrows over the skull and continues over the nape, becoming narrower. The trunk and neck are very long in proportion to the head. Inevitably we compare the animal to a house dog and therefore the legs seem to us to be relatively long and strong. The thin slightly bushy tail reaches a little farther than the heels.

Because the front black part of the animal's nose stands out from the lighter areas next to it like a "mush beard," the Hottentots call the wild dog *!ga/u·b (from *!ga/u· = to have food sticking around the mouth). The name of the animal may also not be mentioned on the hunt. [224]

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot formerly had against the hare, !õ as, as wild game (66), has now vanished. [224 177]

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kχa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kχa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called */a·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tso/aru·s or tso/ara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *χa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

begin right behind the ears, lie like a dark-brown pelt. Towards the back they change suddenly into pointed white and dark-brown banded quills that are as thick as a pencil. From the nape to the beginning of the quills there is a comb of long flexible bristles that extends down the middle line of the back. When the quills are erect, the animal seems to be twice as tall as it actually is. The rattles at the rear end of the body complete the list of the animal's weapons of terror. 136

[287] The Hottentot name for the porcupine, !noa·b, is perhaps connected with !noa· = to become grey. Both words correspond in initial tone level and rising word-tone. !noa·b would then mean "grey head," corresponding to the general impression that the nocturnal animal arouses in the dark or the pale light of the stars.

36. The mouse and rat-like rodents are hunted and eaten by adult Bergdamaras as well as by half-grown Hottentots. A study of the skins and skeletons that I collected, will tell us how to classify the rat-sized animal which they call *!haɛb. duru·s (3. st.) is a collective name for various mouse species. They distinguish a night mouse, tsū·χudurus or !uru·s, and a kind with a pelt striped lengthwise belonging to Arvicanthis which they call *≠goma·b. [224]

37. The ground squirrel, Xerus capensis Kerr., is called */ga·eta ≠nā/b.

38. The smallest hoofed animal, rodent-like in its mannerisms, the rock rabbit, Procavia (Hyrax) capensis (Pall.), (Cape D. dassie), called !aũ/b, often finds its way into the hunter's pot. The young are called *//gī/bigu. The rock rabbit inhabits the clefts in the rocks in great numbers near watering places.

39. In conclusion there are a number of mamals to be mentioned which the Hottentot occasionally traps rather than hunts regularly. He will not let the aardvark, Orycteropus afer (Pall.), called /kχubu·s, escape if he should happen to meet it during the day in an open field. But he must be really suffering from hunger before he will decide to undertake an uncertain difficult ambush at night in front of its hole. (See Kalahari.) 224 136

40. Hunting the elephant shrew, Macroscelides, called baus (in Little Namaland called !kχau/≠guib) is an amusement for boys. They differentiate two kinds as far as I could see, justifiably so: a lazy one, which is easily caught, "sleepy mouse," *//um·baus, and the "quick mouse," *!kχoɛ·baus, which can be recognized by its bald ears that shine through reddish when it is alive. [857]

41. The baboon, Papio porcarius (Boddaert), (Cape D. baviaan), called /nẽ·/rab, or as the older people call him /nõ·rab, is seldom

hunted by the Hottentots. The hunter knows its way of life exactly, distinguishes the outpost of the baboon herd as !kx̃ē.aob, "scout," and the oldest leader as */ga⸗ro /nē⸗rab, because it presses toward the water first [288] (!ga⸗ro·) and does not allow any of the other thirsty ones in the herd to drink until it has assured itself of its fill. 136 224

The Hottentot considers a small ape that lives in the trees a kind of baboon. It is of the genus Cercopithecus, and is supposed to live in the Orange bush country. They call it */hai· /nē⸗rab, i.e. "pale baboon" because of its color, or //o.regyeb, kobold (from //o·re = to cause mischief). [Picture. Papio porcarius (Boddaert). Old male.]

The rage and persistence with which a herd of baboons will attack a leopard, their chief enemy, in a body and tear it apart is known to every native hunter. The herdsmen maintain firmly and unanimously that the baboon catches goats and milks them right into its mouth. 136 825

2. The Kinds of Hunting

The Hottentot differentiates the short hunt of one day as !aus from an expedition, !ha⸗mi·, that takes several days or weeks. 224

[289] a) The Hottentot shows his mastery in the stalking [of game]. Only the Bushman can compete with him in the art of tracking wild game (/kx̃uri·, //ga⸗m, u⸗ru). First he sights the game at great distances and, in spite of all protective coloration which deceives our unpracticed eyes, recognizes it from nearby without error. In reading tracks he has developed the sharpness of his senses and the combining power of his intellect to such an extent that the white man seems a fool beside him. One need only watch a Hottentot once as he follows an antelope which has been shot and run off. Where there are blood and tracks, following the trail is child's play, but where we would stop baffled by a field thickly covered with pebbles, each like the other, he points out one stone in a hundred. Its underside will have been turned ever so slightly towards the sun and he will know that the hoof of the fleeing animal turned it and will then point out the direction with his finger where the search must continue. Then thick thornbushes will blot out the view, the ground is overgrown with tangles hiding all clues. The Hottentot observes the surrounding bushes, suddenly swerves a few steps to one side and brings back a leaf to which a couple of bristles cling. Therefore the animal has brushed by here. He follows the new direction and although hours [151]

may pass, he finds the place where the wild animal lies dead.

Stalking supplies him with an unsurpassed knowledge of the way of life of the game. Although it might not seem to us to be sportsman like, still to the native hunter, to whom each bullet is of great value in the wilderness, it seems the safest to creep up on an oryx and wait quietly until it goes into the bushes after grazing to sleep away the hot noon hours. The Hottentot then follows it noiselessly and shoots the sleeping animal from close up.

Dogs are indispensible for hunting predatory animals.

Protected by the herd of cattle, the herder approaches the steinbok which is innocently grazing with the goats and the sheep and kills it with a precise stone throw (ǂnoǀa·s), or he corners klipspringer with his dog. The dog also performs good services in hunting oryx. Under certain conditions the dog stops it so well that the Hottentot can kill it with the assagai, his "throwing knife," //haĩǀgõab. One especially smart dog had the habit [290] of biting the cornered gemsbok in the nostrils, so that the animal could not move from the spot. The dog finally fell victim to a dying gemsbok, which it had carelessly approached, with a short motion of the neck sideways and back, the animal that was already shot down plunged a horn into its body.

b) The chase on horseback, !haǀe·s, seems to have been undertaken early by the Hottentot, if the information of a native hunter, who told me that elephants were hunted in this way, is based on truth. The elephant supposedly was the pursuer, since one rider after another let the elephant chase him until the animal was so exhausted that it could be overcome. [492]

The eland is supposed to be easy to chase.

Pursuing the ostrich on horseback is more successful than stalking which is difficult even for the native because the bird is very far-sighted. [492] [223]

A single oryx is a beautiful sight in itself, similar to a grazing stag. But no comparison with the game and landscape of our homeland, will suffice when one has had the good luck (as I did in May, 1904, south of Kubub) to see about 250 of these wonderful animals standing together, suspecting no danger, their heads deep in the grass, so sharply lighted by the evening sun that the movements of each animal could be clearly followed. Then suddenly they become aware of the riders. The uneasiness of the nearest ones spreads to the whole herd and in a few seconds the whole herd is off at a gallop and soon only a great yellow cloud of dust reveals the direction of the fleeing animals. Then one must dismount quickly and be very calm for a sure shot.

A peculiarity of the oryx, which makes their pursuit easier, is their habit of always fleeing in the direction against the wind. An oryx herd that one approaches from the east, for example, will always flee to the north if there is a north wind, never towards the west. In this case one only needs to swerve towards the right, if the horse can hold out long enough at a fast gallop, to see the wild animals fleeing close by across one's path at an angle from the left.

c) Waiting at water holes is the surest way of ambushing the larger antelopes and the zebra.

[291] The leopard usually does not drag its booty into its cave when it does not have young, but tears it apart in a hiding place not far from the place where it made its kill. Therefore the Hottentot follows the fresh tracks of the robber from the kraal it broke into to the place where it ate. He kills it when it comes back to fetch the rest.

The animals that burrow (Orycteropus) or live in clefts in the rocks (rock rabbits) are ambushed in front of their holes in the morning or evening.

The sociable antelopes, especially the springbok and the gemsbok, wander during the dry season from the interior of the country towards the west into the area of the winter rains. They wander slowly, sometimes in accustomed places, sometimes seemingly blindly across the veld, towards the north winds that bring the rains. The Hottentot is accustomed to place himself in the protection of a kraal made of bushes beside the place where the game will pass (*ǂga·rob). The enormous mass migrations, which the springbok undertake during droughts, are to be differentiated from the minor migrations that depend on the season and the local pasture conditions. The mass of migrating springbok (Cape D. trekboks) is at times so wide and so thick, that avoiding human settlements cannot be thought of. Actually the animals overrun the courtyards, trampling the crops and the gardens. In the year 1892 (74) the

74. H. A. Bryden, Kloof and Karroo, London, 1889.

civil commissioner of Little Namaland had to distribute about 100 guns to the Boers to turn aside the charge of the springbok herds. In one case the springbok overran a farm in such a dense and wide column that a part of them -- since none of them could turn aside -- were pushed into a cattle kraal and massacred there. The column will divide around an ox wagon. The animals swerve to the side as much as the pushing animals

behind will allow, then close in again a few steps behind the wagon. 224
Such a trek can go on for days and nights without interruption. Like the hyenas and jackals (formerly also the lions and leopards), the Hottentot follows the train of springbok (*doë//gũs). As late as the year 1896 (19)

19. W. L. Sclater, The Mammals of South Africa, 2 vols., London, 1900 - 1901.

a half million head were observed in a springbok train in the northern Cape colony.

d) Hunting by driving (see story no. XIII) seems to have been the way of hunting giraffes formerly. Today only hare are hunted that way. Hunting a single hare with dogs is difficult, for [292] the dog usually considers the hare that has been chased and bitten to death as its own property and the hunter must run quickly or the dog will end up with a full stomach. It is more rewarding to hunt hare by surrounding them. [Picture. A kirri. 1/5 natural size.] The dogs stay at home then. An area of about 100 meters across is encircled, and half the hunters on one arc presses toward the other half which stands still. In this half-encircling the center χãǂ, and wings, /gubi·s, are differentiated, the latter being called by a comparison natural to a pastoral people, //nã·ǂ kχa, horns, or //õa·kχa, arms.

The startled hare is laid low with the kirri (!hõ·as, best made of tai [411] bush wood). Throwing the kirri, ≠gũǂ or /nami·, is done with the arm raised sideways for throwing and in such a way that the wood whirls through the air nearly horizontally. Depending on whether the handle end or the club end hits, the booty is stabbed or knocked out. Then the people shout: "/kχaru !õaë, χam χam /araë, naũ /aoë, aũ /aoë, aχagu χaëse!" The hare's stomach is roasted to a crisp in the fire. Before that the newly slain animal is struck on the ribs with the kirri until the body cavity is filled with blood. Then the gutted hare (the chest organs stay in the body) is baked in the hot ashes with hide and hair left on. The thick [252 blood cake in the inside is a tasty morsel. Thus the afore-mentioned 262] cry of the drivers and hunters becomes understandable: "Karu hare, you crisp stomach (*χam χam = to make a crackling noise, said of crisp things), you thick blood (*naũ, aũ = thick, /aob = blood), thick blood, you sweetheart (χa·es is a marriageable girl) of the boys!" (a·χagu) (up to the last address, the suff. of the 3rd pers. sing., -ë, is used instead of that of the 2nd pers.).

Both upper leg bones of the hare are broken; if this is not done, the hunting dog's legs will become stiff, according to hunter lore. The hare's throat must not be slit when the animal is cut up.

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e) Trapping is well developed and corresponds to the Hottentot's predilection for outwitting his victim, whether man or beast.

Pitfalls, which the Hottentots seem to have copied from the Bergdamaras, are used for catching zebras. On the paths of the wild animals to the water, as a native hunter reported to me, [293] a ditch about 3 meters long, 3 meters deep and about 1 meter wide is dug out with straight sides and covered across the top with light twigs of freshly cut bushes. The Bergdamaras call such a pitfall !gai·seb.

Stone traps, !nu·igu, are used for catching jackals and hyenas. The Hottentots build a jackal trap out of large flat rocks. It is about 3/4 of a meter high and about 2 meters in diameter and resembles the base of a little round tower. When closing up the top opening, a hole is left through which one can look into the inside of the trap room and hit the captured animal in the back with a cudgel. [Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)]. The jackal gets to the bait by a side opening. The bait is in the center of the room. As soon as the animal tugs at the bait, an apparatus made of sticks is loosened which causes a heavy stone to fall down in front of the entrance. Sometimes it falls straight from above, sometimes at an angle from the side. [Picture. Hyena trap on the flatland to the north of Chamis.]

The hyena trap is built stronger than the jackal trap. Heavy flat rocks are built up, so that there are holes but held by their own weight to make a square structure. The inside room is about 1 1/2 meters long, a good 1/2 meter wide and 3/4 - 1 meter high. Large flat stones form the roof. On one of the narrow sides of the [294] structure a wide entrance, 1/2 meter high and 1/3 meter wide, is left open. Right behind this opening a horizontal chink is left open in the roof and surrounded by especially strong stones, so that the wall will stand the weight of the falling stone. In the back or the room is the bait (intestines of cows and such) tied by strings along the floor to two upright sticks on which a stone weighing a hundred pounds is loosely set. By tugging at the bait the hyena pulls the sticks out from under the stone which falls down and seals up the entrance. A thick wall of irregularly piled up blocks of stone braces the side walls on the outside. The roof is also weighted with such stones so that the whole stone building is a structure 3 1/2 meters long, 2 meters wide and easily 1 1/2 meters high. Such a trap stands for years.

The "jerking gallows" (see Kalahari) is a good name for the type of trap used for catching small antelopes, especially the klipspringer. A fresh branch, thick as an arm and several meters long is placed firmly in the ground, the thick end down. A noose of strong sinew thread is

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[p. 293]

Jackal trap, near Aruguams (p. 167, no. 63)

Hyena trap on the flat land to the north of Chamis.

attached to the top end. Down the middle of the noose, fastened firmly to it at each end, is another string, to which the klipspringer's favorite food is attached. The trap is set when the thin end of the branch is bent down to about 1/2 a meter above the ground. The branch and the noose are tied together with a sinew string that must be especially strong as it must take the entire pull of the branch and later has to hold the caught animal. The noose is held flat on the ground by four short pegs. The klipspringer pulls up the pegs as soon as he tugs at the middle string of the noose. The branch jerks up, pulling the noose over the animal's neck and raises it into the air. It is then hanged as though on a gallows. 224

Spring traps, //nõ-agu, are used for catching porcupines and smaller mammals, such as mice, which are a popular food of the Bergdamaras. The setting and springing mechanism is more complicated than in the above-mentioned traps. A flat stone (a) is leaned at an angle against a bracing stick (b). This stick rests lightly on the ground. On the outermost edge of the top of the stone a wedge (c) is inserted between the stick and the stone. A little horizontal stick tipped slightly upwards (d) gives the slanted brace support on the side. One end of it is placed securely under the edge of the stone, the other extends beyond the brace. [295] The brace and the horizontal stick are pressed against each other by the !a-r(a)das- wood (e). This small piece of wood is kept in place by a taut sinew string that is tied to the wedge. [Picture. Spring trap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge, d) horizontal stick, e) !a-a(a)das- wood. f) bait.] As soon as the horizontal stick is knocked down by the animal getting the bait (f), the side support is removed from the brace, at the same time the !a-r(a)das- wood slips out and disturbs the precarious balance of the whole structure by moving the string on the wedge. The Bergdamaras call the little pieces of wood that are used for making spring traps °ǂhâ/ru-n.

Capitulum IV

Social Life

A. Family

1. Establishing a Family

a) The reaching of marriageable age, when menstruation first occurs, ǂaru-b or /ha/ba-b, is a joyful occasion and, as the first pledge of future 881 [582]

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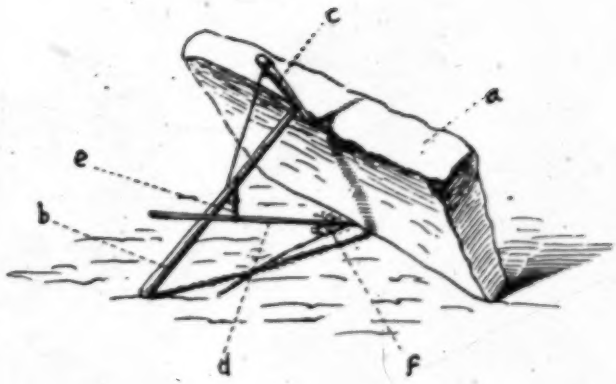
[p.295]



Springtrap. a) stone, b) brace, c) wedge,
d) horizontal stick, e) !a·r(a)das-wood. f) bait.

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in order to find scraps." In its screeching voice the Hottentot sometimes hears the rejoicing of a happy hunter: "ǁu·rigye go /a·os gye, hõ.gye go ǂhã·eĩ gye!" "We (gye, suffix of the first person plural masculine) have drawn (ǁuri)* blood (/aos), we have got (hõ) a spring-

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*The native hunter ordinarily pours the blood from the body cavity of the freshly killed beast into its eviscerated stomach and carries it home.

bok (ǂhãeĩ, neut. sing.)."

The Hottentot also hears dialogues of the birds. Thus, according to him, the white-breasted crow, go/ra·b (3, st.) the Corvus scapulatus Daud., which is not very choosy in selecting its food, calls to the above-mentioned corn crow: "//Hõ.rab, //hõ·rab, /kǁĩ·ẽ·kǁ(u)m ǁau·sa !kǁã !ã·gu!" "Raven, raven, come and let us both pick apart (literally, "stab," !kǁã, and "separate, !ã .) excrement together."

But the addressed crow remains with its own preference and answers: "Go/ra·b, go/ra·b, kǁi· ẽ·kǁ(u)m !ha·nsa !kǁã· !ã·gu!" "Come let us pick apart field bulbs with each other."

The cooing of the turtle dove (ǂna/i·s) has its own story. The Hottentots relate that the turtle dove was once a notorious cattle thief. She once wanted to borrow an ax to chop up the bones of a stolen calf from the sand grouse, Pteroclurus namaqua (Gmel.), !haus, with which she lived. But the honest grouse refused her. Ever since the dove has cursed it with the words ":" !hau·s !ga·rrase, !hau·s

"Here it is especially clear how the choice of the words, their sequence and accentuation, aim at an imitation of the animal voice.

It seems to me that certain observations from the primitive stages of an incipient literature (such as the Hottentots represent) are not without value in determining how man originally came to give his speeches certain rhythms when he wants to free them from oppressive monotony and use them for freer creations of the phantasy. It is no hypothesis but an ascertainment of the actual state of affairs that, in the Nama language, the childish joy in imitating certain animal voices with words represents one way to rhythmical development.

[539] all the cartridges (from //hă, "to stuff"), and they shot off (!hui). Then all the Hottentots died (///ŏ "to pass away," toa, "to come to an end").

[Text omitted]

[424] Translation of XVII

The Little Mountain Kaffir Who Climbs up to the Game Hoard of the Lion

The little Kaffir was looking for firewood (/aēb. The suff. -re takes the place of the gender ending and gives the word a verbal character) with !kʼxa) his mother (///gũi), and the two of them (-ra, dual masc.-fem.) came (hŏ) upon the game hoard* of the lion

[224 251]

*) !naosa, from !nao "to load." In order to protect the slain game from hyenas and jackals, the hunter sometimes hangs it on a tree, as the lion has done in this case.

(gai!gãb, ("Big Back," folk tale name of the lion.) Then the little Kaffir climbed* up (ai) the tree (hais) and threw (ao) [some of the

*) ǂoa. The verbal particle "!gã indicates a special goal of the action, as for example !aba!gã "to climb up" (on a wagon in order to bring down a recalcitrant person) in contrast to !aba "to climb up," when the wagon is ready to drive off.

booty] down (//na) to his mother; he threw down little (-re, dimin. particle) pieces of meat (//gani "meat," -na, ending of the neut. pl.).

But when the time (//aēba) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (nĩ verbal particle of the fut.) to go (!gung), she told (gai)

*539

[Text omitted]

Translation of LIX

The Elephant Who Made Servants Of All Sorts Of Beings

The elephant had made servants of four-legged (haga /nūb) beasts of prey (*/guruna, neut. pl., collective term for all sorts of vicious animals), and every morning (literally: "on which?" mā, -- "on every" hoasa, "morning" //goas) they (-n in tain, suff. of the 3rd pers. neut. pl.) are urinated on* (/hXam, ai "on").

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"So that they may make a good catch--
a curious superstition.

But the white (!uri with euphonious n) "dwarf" (/Ēb), who (-ha, suff. in tomaha) does not (toma) dig (hXao) a knapsack (//hōba) full (/oa) [of field onions], is drenched over and over again (ⁿūraga) with urine (/ūha): the others (*nauna, neut. pl.) are only (/gui [521] "single") urinated on a little bit (/hXari "little," -ro dimin. particle, -se adverbial ending); then they go (!gung) digging. And the others dig their knapsacks full, but the white dwarf comes (/hXi) with (/hXa) refuse (ǂÊs "thing," -ro dimin. particle i personal suff. of the neut. sing.) which sits (/hoa) there (//nā) in the back (hXaos ai) [of the almost empty sack]. Then they come (hā) along to hand over (mā) [the field onions], and when (-tsī, pret. participle) they have finished (toa "to cease") handing over they go. Then when (o) dawn breaks (//goa), they come and take (ā) the knapsacks and go after (o at the end of the sentence) they (-n in taahen) are through being urinated on (ra after i is euphonious for ra, verbal particle of progressive action).

Then one (/gui) day (tā) the white dwarf found (hā) a way out (/abeisa): he dug (ǂÊoo) holes (kga, masc. pl.) and comes back with very (gai "big," -se adverbial ending) little onions. But when he had finished digging the holes and the time (//aēba, the next morning is meant) had come (/oa) when they were supposed (tā, verbal particle of the fut.) to go, he goes (ti) to sit down (/hūi) on (ai) a hill (!homi "mountain," -ro dimin.), after (tsī, particle of the pret. participle) he had taken an amagai (gaaba), and cried (/gai): "You (-ta, suff. of the 2nd pers. masc. sing.) will not (tite, particle of the fut. negative) urinate on me (-te, suff.) today (tā/tsī)!" So he cried.

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matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Pornlaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest accounts of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 189-206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96-105; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 393-6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91-3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 229-32.

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224 plays a far less prominent part in the subsistence of the people than it did in the old days, but it is still used as a means of obtaining food whenever possible.

252 262 There is hardly a single portion of the animal not eaten. Even the skin, when not required for other purposes, is roasted in the fire, so that the hair may burn away, and is then cut into strips, which are beaten soft with stones and cooked in water, or preferably milk.

[45] All meat is as a rule prepared; sometimes it is cooked in water in wooden (formerly clay) pots, sometimes roasted on spits over the

[372] fire, or it may be baked in hot ashes. Fire was formerly made by friction, by the same drilling method as used by the Bushmen; nowadays matches or the tinder-box are generally employed. When

[251] not eaten immediately, or when plenty of game has been caught and not all of it can be taken home, the meat is cut into thin strips, which are salted and dried in the air. In this condition it will last for a considerable time, and can also be eaten raw; indeed, the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived from this old Hottentot practice. Meat broth is not specially esteemed, but the fat of the animal, either raw or as dripping, is highly appreciated, and is sometimes drunk warm as a separate dish.

262 In addition to the game obtained by hunting, all sorts of smaller animals are eaten in case of necessity. There is hardly any form of animal life which does not provide food for impoverished Hottentots. Hares, rock rabbits, birds of all kinds, porcupines, tortoises, mice, lizards, even insects such as caterpillars, beetles, locusts, termites, and other ants all help to keep off starvation, while on the sea-coast the people eat the meat of seals and penguins, as well as penguin eggs, seagulls, mussels, and snails. Fish are also caught wherever possible, and as in the case of the coastal Hottentots and those living along the Orange and Great Fish Rivers in South-West Africa often form an important part of the menu.

222 252 262 Vegetable food is obtained from plants growing wild in the veld. Of these a great variety are eaten. Some are taken raw, others baked in ashes, others again are beaten to pulp, then dried in the sun and brewed with milk. For example, "uintjies" (*Cyperus sp.*) are usually baked in hot ashes; the leaves of *Mesembrianthemum edule* are fried in butter; the seeds of *Boubiesa burkeana* are also baked, while its roots are often eaten raw. Ant-heaps are broken open, their stores ransacked, and large quantities of grass seed carried off to be boiled in milk, making a very agreeable dish. Fruits such as

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thief is a Bergdama or a Bushman, he is tracked and simply shot down, the chief as a rule taking no notice at all of such cases, and, where he does, never siding with the party of the thief.[1]

In the other Nama tribes there seem to have been no private rights of this nature. In certain respects, however, there was a limitation to unrestricted exploitation of the land and its resources by any member of the tribe. Hunting rights over the tribal land, for example, were common to all, but the game was regarded as the herds of the chief. Anybody shooting big game was therefore expected to give him the head and the four lower legs of the animal, while of small game he received portions of the meat. Refusal to yield this tribute was punished. Pasture lands, again, were also common to all, but the chief could order certain grazing grounds to be vacated in order that they might be rested. His consent was also necessary if the inhabitants of any kraal wished to burn the veld shortly before the rainy season, so that when the first rains fell new juicy grass might spring up. These regulations, of course, do not involve interference with established personal rights, but are to be regarded rather as the exercise of recognized control vested in the chieftainship.[2]

In other directions we find recognition given to the prior rights of an individual. If a man dug a well or opened a spring, it was regarded as under his special authority, and, after inspection by the chief, was named after him. Every passer-by had to have his permission before using the water, but it was equally his duty to see that no stranger or his stock was denied access to it. Any man, again, who found a swarm of wild bees in the cleft of a rock or in the hollow of a tree could acquire rights of ownership over their honey by breaking a few twigs and laying them in front of the hive. Whoever then ignored this sign and took away the honey was regarded as a thief and had to recompense the owner. But here also the chief or the head of the kraal exercised some measure of control. If the swarm was still young, it might not be molested, under penalty of punishment, and the owner was also punished if by extracting all the honey he caused the swarm to wander away elsewhere. Moreover, he was expected to give several good combs of the honey to the chief or the kraal head.[3] The private rights casually acquired in this way should not, however, be confused in nature with those noted above to the /*nara* bushes, which are based on heredity and shared equally by all members of the tribe.

[1] Schultze, *op. cit.*, 1907, 318.
[2] Wanderer, *op. cit.*, 673-4; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 38. [3] Wanderer, *loc. cit.*

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fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, *op. cit.*, 102-7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48-51; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 140; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 88. Schultze, *op. cit.*, 102.

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224 As the wounded animal ran off he leisurely followed, showing a remarkable skill in reading and distinguishing its tracks; and when finally he came up it was an easy task to finish off his quarry with the spear.

Big game, such as elephants, rhinoceros, and giraffe, were often directly attacked in the open. These animals, as well as elands and quaggas, were hunted by large parties of men armed with spears; and when the wounded animal turned upon its assailant, other spears were hurled against it from behind; as it faced about to ward off the new danger, a renewed attack was made upon it from the rear, so that it was constantly kept at bay until, exhausted by its wounds, it fell helpless to the ground. Or when wild animals had raided the herds and the flocks, all the men of the kraal would unite in a drive hunt, dividing themselves into bands to discover the haunts of the animal they wished to destroy. On finding its retreat they formed a circle round it, closing in till they came within bowshot; then, after wounding the animal with their arrows, they were able to come up and dispatch it with the spear.[1]

Even at the present time, when guns and the horse have made hunting far easier, the Hottentot still shows a considerable amount of real ability in the pursuit. In stalking down game his intimate knowledge of their habits is readily evident. With considerable caution he will approach the gemsbok, and then patiently wait till in the midday heat it goes to lie down in the shade of a bush. Quietly he steals up towards it, and once within range he makes no mistake with his bullet. Sometimes he finds the nest of the ostrich, and knowing that before long the bird will return, he conceals himself in the nearest bush, fires as it passes or when it has settled on the nest, and thus secures a double prize. He will patiently lie in ambush in the same way near a waterhole for big antelopes or zebras, or outside their holes for the smaller burrowing animals. Under cover of his flocks the herdsman steals up to the steenbok, innocently pasturing with the sheep and the goats, and kills it with a dexterous stone-throw; or with the aid of his dogs he runs down the gemsbok and the klipspringer. Drive-hunts are employed to root out the hares, which are knocked down with the kirri. Where he possesses a horse, the hunter takes his gun and rides out into the veld, where whatever first offers—ostrich, zebra, eland, or smaller antelope—is closely pursued till near enough to be shot. Sometimes large

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 133-4; Wikar, "Reize aan van Plettenberg," *passim*.

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hunting parties are organized, when nearly all the men of a kraal leave in their wagons, with plenty of ammunition and their hunting horses, trusting to the success of the expedition for subsistence while away. Large sections of the country are partially invested, animals of all descriptions brought within a comparatively limited space, and great quantities shot. The flesh is then cut up into thin slices, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the shade and wind; and after several weeks have been passed in the veld, the huntsmen return with their wagons loaded with the dried flesh of the ostrich, zebra, and various kinds of antelope, which afford food to the whole kraal for a considerable time.[1]

Stone traps and snares, nooses and catches of all kinds are also made use of to waylay game. On some occasions, in former days, whole valleys were enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game from the heights into the valley below, which was staked and bushed across its whole breadth. At intervals the fence was broken, and here deep pitfalls were made. Since the fence was too high for the animals to jump, they were obliged to make for the gaps, where they tumbled into pits. Similar pitfalls were dug for elephants, rhinoceros, zebras, elands, and other big game in the paths to waterholes or along river banks. These pits were about 6 to 8 feet deep, and some 4 feet in diameter. A sharp-pointed stake was planted in the centre, the pointed extremity being on a level with the ground surrounding the pit, the surface of which was lightly covered and spread over with leaves intermingled with sand. As the hole was too small, the animal only fell in with its forefeet, thus causing the stake to enter its throat or its breast; it was thus unable to get away, for the more it struggled, the more it became fixed. The hunters then coming up killed it with their spears, or mounting upon its neck they knocked it down with stones or opened a vein with their knives to make it bleed to death. Running nooses similar to those of the Bushmen are still employed to catch small antelope, such as the klipspringer, duiker, and steenbok, as well as hares and dassies, while heavy falling traps of stone secure the jackal and hyena. Still more finely constructed are the falling traps for catching porcupines and small mammals. They are so made that the animal in attempting to get at the bait disturbs a horizontal peg; a small vertical peg is thereby released which, falling away, sets free an uppermost peg fixed between the stone slab and the support; the

[1] Rudolph, op. cit., 87-9; Schultze, op. cit., 288-92.

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224 stone falls down with force and buries the unfortunate animal beneath its weight.[1]

226 Fishing was also practised wherever possible, especially by the impoverished people. As tackle they used hooks of animal's teeth
227 or of bone, nets knotted of bark fibre, basket traps of reed, and a pointed stick answering the purpose of a spear. At a later period their hooks were made of iron, and their lines twisted of animal
[481] sinews or catgut. They had no boats, but they were fearless swimmers and boldly threw themselves into the sea to reach a neighbouring rock, from which they fished with hook and line or harpooned the fish with their long wooden spears attached to a line. In rivers, creeks, or inlets they waded into the water to some distance from the bank, and when they saw a fish swimming within their reach pierced it with their pointed stick. Sometimes weirs were made in favourable situations along the shore, enclosing considerable spaces left nearly dry at low tide. In a similar way baskets were sometimes stretched across a stream in a shallow part. Men would stand behind these, while others waded up stream from a point below, driving the fish before them to the basket traps, where the men standing behind would then catch and throw them on the shore.[2]

Special Observances

224 As in the case of the Bushmen, hunting among the Hottentots is bound up with a variety of social usages and special observances. We have already noted that among the Naman, for example, the chief claims a part of every animal secured in the chase, a tribute sanctioned to him by the belief that the game are his herds. But even the remainder of the flesh cannot be appropriated for himself by the hunter; if game is brought home the whole camp collects about the house of the possessor till all the meat is consumed. This sharing of food, however, is not restricted to game; it is, as we have observed, a custom running all through Hottentot life.

224 More interesting perhaps are the usages specifically connected
312 with hunting by pursuit, and reflecting the danger and above all the uncertainty with which this method is accompanied. If a man is out hunting, says Hahn, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive, for should it go out her husband will have no luck. If she does not like to make a fire,

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 390–3; Kolb, op. cit., 128; Wikar, op. cit., 112.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 129–30; Morrell, *Narrative of Four Voyages*, 69–70; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 93.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about, and when she is tired her servant must continue to do so, otherwise the husband will return empty-handed.[1] Schultze mentions also an old-time regulation that the night before hunting the elephant every hunter had to refrain from sexual intercourse. Should a man violate this rule, the elephant would point him out with its trunk and "pile up earth against him"; the culprit was then no longer allowed to take part in the hunt.[2]

Men out hunting, again, may not mention the name of the baboon, otherwise they will find nothing. The lion and the jackal, in the same way, must be referred to not by their proper names, but by circumlocutions, the former as *gei /gab*, big brother, the latter as */gai-hetomab*, he-who-may-not-be-called. Anybody killing a baboon or a lion must afterwards slaughter a sheep or a goat, and hang the lowest cartilage from the spine of this animal round his neck with a strap so that it lies between his shoulder-blades, otherwise he will suffer from lumbago! Anybody, again, who has killed a dassie must hang its skull on one of the poles in his hut, so that he may soon kill another. If a hunter has shot game, and the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw into the air a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the animal; this, it is believed, will soon bring the animal down.

Omens also enter largely into the life of the hunter. If a hare crosses his path, he will immediately return home; but if it runs in the same direction as he is proceeding, the omen is good. So, too, if a certain kind of chameleon creeps on him or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him, when he is resting on the road, he is assured of success; and again the korhaan, if it does not fly far from him and soon sits down again, is believed to give luck, but if it continues to fly far away he had better return.[3]

These usages and beliefs almost certainly represent only a fragment of Hottentot hunting observances and lore. In them, however, we can see how in hunting by pursuit, where the elements of chance and danger are always present, elements beyond rational control based on experience and technical efficiency, there ritual observances and beliefs bring confidence to the hunter and assure him of good results or protect him from ill-luck, enable him, that is, to maintain

[1] *Transl. Connor*, 77. [2] Op. cit., 269.
[3] Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 40–2; Fiehn, op. cit., 84–5; Schultze, op. cit., 283.

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224 mental stability under conditions which would otherwise demoralize him by despair, anxiety, and fear. It is suggestive by way of contrast that, both here and among the Bushmen, no usages and beliefs of this nature appear to be bound up with the methods of trapping and snaring, where the pursuit is certain, reliable and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes.

224 264 Another usage mentioned by Olpp is that any man killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus must slaughter a sheep or a goat; only the hunter may eat of this meat, while all the others present may eat of the meat of the fallen animal.[1] This usage, as recorded by him, appears to be the remnant of what was formerly an extremely important ceremony in Hottentot life—the reception of a man into the ranks of the hunters. A detailed description of this ceremony is given by Wikar, who was himself able to take part in it. He relates[2] that once, when he and some Naman had killed a rhinoceros, one of the young men with them asked to become the "master killer" ("baas doodmaker") of the animal, although in reality he had had nothing to do with its actual death. His wish granted, the young man took his spear, and plunged it into the dead beast, until it was covered with blood. Then he stood aside and directed how the best meat should be cut off for him for the coming sacramental meal ("andersmaken"). The animal was slit open, the entrails extracted and thrown over his head. The meat was then cut up and brought to the fire, the reserved portions being appropriated by the "master killer", and the festivities began. When the meat was sufficiently cooked, it was shared out by the young man to everybody present who had previously undergone the same ceremony; [372] no one else was allowed to take part in the meal. The fire used for cooking the meat could not be taken away and used at other places, nor could anybody even light his pipe with it; and when the cooking was all over it was completely extinguished. The sinews of the rhinoceros were given to the initiate, and carefully kept by him until he would be able to get a sheep and complete the ceremony. Now also his face was smeared all over with potblack, then wiped clean in a few places, leaving his features "prettily ornamented" with cross-like designs.

224 [137] Later on, when they came to a neighbouring village, the initiate obtained a sheep by barter. Then all the spears of the other men entitled to take part in the meal were held close together in a bundle,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] "Reize van den Heer van Plettenberg," 1779-80.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and on this he broke the leg of the sheep. The animal was then slaughtered, the spears heaped up against a bush, and the entrails of the sheep hung over all their points. Next the young man lay down on his back. A stripe was drawn over his stomach from the navel to the breast-bone, and along it from thirty to forty small cuts were made close together in a row, the blood flowing freely. "If the knife is blunt," adds Wikar realistically, "they must cut two or three times on the same spot, then indeed he makes a wry face, but this doesn't help." Once through this operation the young man was a full-fledged hunter; "he had merited his laurels," as Wikar puts it, and was allowed by way of token to twist the sinews of the rhinoceros through beads and shells which he then wore as a bracelet on his arm. The slaughtered sheep was now completely eaten, skin and all, but the bones and other inedible parts were burned or buried, to keep the dogs or children from getting at them. With this meal the ceremony was over. From now on the initiate might "eat with" on all similar occasions.

This ceremony, Wikar continues, is performed in the same way whenever an elephant, hippopotamus, or buffalo is killed. It is a fixed rule among the Naman that when they go out hunting the man who first touches the animal with his spear, if only to scratch it, is regarded as the "master killer", even although another man may deal the actual death thrust. He can then go through the ceremony himself, or must hand over the privilege to one of his friends. In another context Wikar states that the ceremony is held only when a man has killed a beast of prey or other noxious animal, such as the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, or snake, and also the baboon, which is held to be the prototype of man ("dat is de oude tijden zijn mens by haar"). It does not take place on the killing of a giraffe, "wild horse" ("wilde peerde", ? wildebeest), hartebeest, etc., since these animals are not very harmful or dangerous, and it is therefore no great merit to slay them.[1]

Campbell describes the same ceremony rather curtly: "When a man, for the first time, kills an elephant, sea-cow, or rhinoceros, particular honour is attached to him, which is expressed by insignia similar to those in Europe, only made of different materials. They compose rings of the entrails of the slain animal, which they put on his arms, and these he constantly wears."[2]

[1] Op. cit., 94.
[2] Travels in S. Africa, 230-1.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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224 554 A somewhat similar ceremony was held among the Cape Hottentots, but the description given of it by Kolb differs from the above, and is therefore worth recording. The skill and dexterity displayed in the chase by a single huntsman, he says,[1] was considered the highest act of heroism, and the man who had succeeded in killing an elephant, rhinoceros, or other big game animal was honoured by the whole kraal with marks of respect and was an object of universal admiration. On returning to his home he was subjected to the customary "andersmachen" rite. Proceeding to the central space where the people were assembled to receive him, he seated himself on a mat in the [5M] centre of the circle that formed about him. One of the old men then rose, and urinated all over him, "at the same time muttering some words whose meaning I was never able to understand or to learn." [216] The dagga pipe was next lighted and circulated as usual, but the hunter received only the ashes that remained, which were strewed over his [304] body by the old man. From now on he enjoyed great honour, and as a proof of his agility and heroism could wear on his head the bladder of the animal he had slain.

224 The ceremony over, he retired to his hut, where he remained secluded for three days, during which time he was fed with the best [834] meat and the finest provisions procurable. During this time also he was forbidden all intercourse with his wife. The latter had to leave the kraal every morning when the herds were driven out to pasture, and might not return again till they came back in the evening. [262] Outside the kraal she might not eat anything at all, and even when back in it had to live only upon such meagre fare as she could lay hands upon. At the end of the third day, when the hunter was [574] supposed to have recovered his former vigour and strength, his wife was reinstated in the hut; he slaughtered a fat sheep, invited all his neighbours to the feast, and thereafter could again live with her.

Kolb's description of this ceremony gives no indication that it was an initiation rite, but implies rather that it was performed whenever the occasion was offered by the killing of a big game animal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is contradictory to Wikar's account, from which it appears that the first time a man killed such an animal, or obtained the privilege of being regarded as the "master killer", afforded the opportunity for receiving him into the ranks of the hunters, signalized by the scarification, while on subsequent occasions the ceremony was merely repeated without the operation,

[1] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1128-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 554 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, III, 111.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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461 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such
357 servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating
146 the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own
797 gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this
411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [824] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are
262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

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not used in this process is that of the puff adder, because his father told him that it rots the flesh.

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The treatment that this man adopts for bites of the cobra is incisions over the bite; he then places a piece of venom in his mouth and proceeds to suck the wound. He also gives the patient a small dose of prepared venom to be swallowed, which he says, congeals the poison inside so that he vomits it out. Puff adder bites he treats similarly.

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Jacob catches snakes by breaking their backs and so paralysing them; they must not be killed. The head is fixed with a forked stick, after which the snake may be picked up by the back of its neck. The sacs of poison are carefully dissected out, each intact with its fang, from beneath the eyes. The sacs are ligatured at the base of the fangs to prevent the escape of venom. They are then hung up to dry. They are not mixed. Jacob uses no head cloth, and therefore scrapes the greasy, sweated band of his old hat and mixes this with water to give to the patient. This internal dose is given only when it is seen that the poison "has got to the heart," and is given, as is the venom, to congeal the injected venom. Either the sweat or the venom will do, both have the same action. He also uses Bo Meester, and gives this drug internally for as long as the patient may be ill, and applies Black Klipsweet or Dassiepis plasters externally. One other old snake catcher gave me exactly the same information.

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The gecko lizard, the D/ung D/ung, is by all, white and black alike, credited with being deadly poisonous. The only poisonous lizard has its habitat in Mexico; but Jacob dissects out some gland and uses it in the same manner as the venom sac of the snake.

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Another Poison Doctor explained his immunity thus; after eating poison the snakes smell the man, do not like him, and run away from him, therefore, spittle and sweat are curative. (The Dutch used to give high prices for pieces of Poison Doctor head cloths.) Here, once again, the sympathy becomes apparent.

In a country that Nature has cursed with multitudes of snakes, spiders, and scorpions, cures and antidotes for their bites and stings naturally form a large section of the folk medicine. Kaboo, a potato-like root, sweet to taste, is used raw, in slices, applied wet to the wound to draw out the poison. Yellow Kafir wood, ground, is used as a poultice. This appears to have a certain caustic action. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice to snake bite. Bo Meester may be rubbed into scarifications over the bites. Powdered spider or tarantula is used as a poultice over their bites. In the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail pulled off, also its nippers, the body is ground and applied as a paste. In each case of scorpion sting that the writer has treated, the body of the scorpion always accompanied the

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[1]

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, III.)

[74] Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 207).

[1] [The author is mistaken; see note 53 p. 40, col. 116. – Ed.]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[*]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

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*) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 261).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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S H 845 847 [766] H [854]

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.[1]) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

H 854 847

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

H 847

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.[1])

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If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

224 252

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

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[1]) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1688): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 194).

H 766 847

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DDD devorant, reliquumque domi pullucto, licet vilatum, dispascuntur, nullosque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carnium esu, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subitis avidâ inveneris, dictu non est proclive; hoc mane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque institorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerenaque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Λίθον τρὶς Φοινίκων.

Victorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaque, amygdala silvestria, cortice holoserico, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: varioque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo relecta fercula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupedia, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam ταμίευγ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores cavens Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam epithamae(que) altitudinem interserunt, eodemque intera spinae satis circumdant, denique frumento caeteroque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae cbartaceum primo stramine et virgulto, denique quartâ et novissimâ (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam cespitibus, puri cum satis libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptione totam, integrumque relinquunt, de nullo solliciti, nisi ut delegentes scrobem, compressam annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne aëri, luciue expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand pullucto, curcuiri, nec macellarii.

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[1] This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 138 ff.)

[2] The account given by the "Discourse" over of the Khoisan corn-pits merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

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they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.[1]) Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his teeth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with soil to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.[2])

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(1) Dobbs-Middlemiss, *op. cit.*, 88. The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

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Cape Hottentot

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.[1]

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying bindings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To gripe with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable count in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

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[1] our own, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi, 301). Dubois op. cit., 30-31 describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

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Animi vitio laborantem, flagitiosum, et novissima meritum exempla, circumrugienti leoni, hominibus pecorique infesto, pellibus probè imbibulatum, teloque armatum, coercendis nebulonis sceleribus, tanquam faeneum hominem periculo objiciunt, advolantibus subsidio omnibus, victoremque ovatu salutant, et hoc claro egregioque facinore in integrum restituto, abrogatis legibus, criminibusque abolitis, salillo puriori, omniumque sententiis atramento sutorio absoluto cuncti gratulantur: nec de nihilo, cum leo semel carne humana pastus, ut delicantissimam omnibus praefert. Qui adhaec in pretio habet carnem caninam, visus enim est devorasse canem, ejusdemque caput postridie pro repotiis edere maluisse, quod in propinquo ante decipulam abjectum erat, quam vervecem vivum duobus inde passibus frutici alligatum dilacerare, hunc dum intactum transit, glandibusque plumbeis trajectus cadit. Quem fecunditate sua vastaturum regionem liquet, nisi conquirens sibi foetuique praedam, rediens à venatione, saepe cubile scymnis vacuum inveniret, qui ferocia aut famis instinctu latius à lustro vagantes, hominibus praeda fiunt, aut inediâ pereunt, dum catuliens leaena vel leo nostratium armis aut decipulo necatur. Huc accedit quod leones prurientem catervatim sequentes leaenam, venereo aestu saevientes se mutuo dentibus ungulibusque dilacerant.

Leo à captura rediens ventriculum carnibus plenum coram pullis vomitu exonerat, pari modo leaena frustis esculentis crudis catulos alit, iisdemque insuper ubera praebit.

Qui leonem quantumlibet necat aut capit, ei ex publico aerario per aediles sedecim nummi argenti cum nummi bene, vulgo R. D. in *Specie* numerantur, decem si ejus dextra aut industria perdua, tres ubi lupus occiderit, addendis arcendisque animis praemio dantur. Quo nonnulli nimium accensi suo cum damno, vitaeque jacturâ discunt, quam asper leo tactu, et quam periculosi morientium animalium ungues morsusque sunt.

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[*]) This opportunity of rehabilitating himself may conceivably have been offered to one or two criminals known to O., but it is certainly not the normal Hottentot method of administering justice, even as described by the earliest writers. Dapper's account (see above, p. 63 ff.) has far more truth in it.

[**]) As early as 1656 the Council at the Cape, in consequence of the great damage caused by wild animals, had decided to

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A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character"). And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.") The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

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offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 8 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

412 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone weapons (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

412 This text was given, eg *Takab*, *Tatsé* and *Ao* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khare* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kieri* of ojive-wyse, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kieri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kieri gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Karossenkleider der Hottentottische*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. !Kaisi's mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*gi'ase*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 *Tsa ǂ ra ǂare di ǂare. Ehje ǂkarakare Tsa ǂ di ǂare tsame. Ehje ǂa ǂare* 531 *gu; ǂkare di ǂare ǂkarakare ǂkamma ǂkare ka. Ehje !Akka!'nasakare tsarā ǂan gui ǂkare di thi gi'a ǂare thikare qtare. Ehje ǂkhoi'an, ǂki di thi gurikare thikare aengnā ǂan ǂkare. Ehje ghab ǂare ǂkamma.*

Translation:

[885] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Digali, Matiti* and *Khoi*.

[228] [111] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the *firedrill* (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the "umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die.

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful.

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success.

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâtsi*, "the one which lives in a hole."

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year.

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Here I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large sand-buck to be found here; and an immense snake is occasionally seen, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 PR19 Hahnesse PR19

121 to the south it generally rains. Hence the origin of this superstition.

224 14. Hunters, especially, have superstitions of their own.
787 If a hare crosses a hunter's path, the hunter will immediately return home: but if the hare runs in the same direction as the hunter's path lies, it is considered a good sign.

224 15. If a certain kind of chameleon (Jeroyah) creeps on a
787 hunter or his weapons, or on anything belonging to him,
826 where he is resting on the road, he is believed to be successful.

16. Also, if the Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus), which we already met in Heitsi-eibib's fight with the Lion, follows a hunting party, and always rests where the party has rested, they are sure to be lucky. On the whole, this vulture seems to be a prophetic bird, and its sagacity is well known from the following story, which I heard dozens and dozens of times all over Great Namaqualand:—If the jackal has discovered an ostrich nest, he will look for the white vulture, and then search out. The bird now follows him, and as soon as they come to the nest, covered by the ostrich hen, the vulture takes a stone and goes into the air vertically over the nest, from where he drops the stone on the brooding-hen. The ostrich, startled from the sudden, cutting pain, runs off. Then reynard approaches, and breaks the eggs, and both he and the vulture have a grand feasting in the most amicable manner.

I myself have never seen it, but I have been assured by very respectable and truthful old Namaquas, and I, for my part, believe it.

17. The Korhaan (Otis Kori), if it does not fly far from the hunter and soon again sits down, is believed to give luck; but if it continues to fly far away the hunter had better return.

220 18. If a hunter has shot game, and if the bullet does not cause immediate death, the man will throw a handful of sand, taken from the footprints of the game into the air

14 Hatch L-S (ca. 1870-1890) 1881 FX13 Harkness FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǂGaunaga (masc. plur.), ǂHaitsaga (masc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.) and ǂHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǂKaxa ǂgoma te ai—i.e., I will hear it, if I am a ǂgoma—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǂHaitsab ka ǂi, Tsaudiri has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǂhoaxa. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǂGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǂgao, ǂgoa) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǂgoaxa ǂkoin ǂkoin—i.e., people who died the ǂgoaxa death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by